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Barbara White's comments on her cover for this month's issue are of considerable interest: "The word CONFLICT is more striking than COOPERATION simply because conflict in the modern world is more apparent than cooperation. Thus the clouds—black clouds of dissension and war—are rolling over the world pushing to a subordinate position the enlightened method of cooperation. Even the difference between the shapes of the light and dark areas on the world can be symbolical, the former suggesting an expanding agreeable state of affairs and the latter a narrow, selfish state—a wedge.

"I purposely omitted any suggestion of countries on the globe for fear of making it seem that those in the light area were in the right and those in the dark area were in the wrong."

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Nations—Conflict and Cooperation

• by Stephen and Joan Raushenbush

1. The Discouraging Part of It

"We don't want war, but there seems no escape from it"—that was the burden of the talk of people everywhere in Europe in the summer of 1938. We heard it in France and Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Everyone knew that fortifications were being built. Everyone knew that there must be a gas mask for each member of the family. Everyone was aware that their taxes went for guns and airplanes. Some were suffering from capital levies. Most of them had relatives who had been or who would shortly be called to military service. Some knew that war would bring them close to starvation. Few had any hope that war would bring peace and democracy. Many were being taught to hate democracy.

Then, in September, war seemed certain. Germany was mobilizing on the Czech border. Czechs, French, British, Poles, Hungarians—all were mobilizing. For days, war seemed inescapable. And then came the word that there would be no war, not now at least. Peace had won—although at a fearful price—a peace which few could believe to be an enduring peace.

It is difficult to picture the agony of those September days to the people of Europe.

The Factors in the Present Scene

First, the state of mind in Germany. The Germans are flushed with victory. The Treaty of Versailles has been shredded. And the German people are exultant—especially the youth—and their enthusiasm and loyalty to Hitler is the chief ponderable in the European situation. No matter how that enthusiasm was produced—whether by propaganda or by reason—the fact is there.



Second, the working unity of Italy and Germany. Acting independently, neither was strong enough to terrify Europe. Acting together, they did terrify Europe. They have stepped up the armaments race to an all-time high level.

Third, the role of Britain. After a period of apparent isolation, England re-entered the European picture. Whether Neville Chamberlain is hailed tomorrow as the great peace-maker or the great betrayer of peace—time alone can tell. But that Britain has given up her hopes—and the hopes of France—of dominating the Continent is clear.

Fourth, Germany's economic and political march to the East is on. Austria is captured. Czechoslovakia is dismembered. The road is open to the oil fields of Rumania and the wheat fields of the Balkans. Whether Germany's next steps are economic or political is immaterial.

The "Drang nach Osten" is on

Fifth, the withdrawal from League obligations of the whole bloc of small Northern nations. Those nations viewed the League as the bulwark of their liberties. Today, with Germany stronger and the League weaker, they have in effect cut loose from Geneva.

Sixth, the growing uneasiness of the nations close to the Fascist axis. They know their peril in time of war, they also know their peril in time of peace. They are seeking to insulate themselves against the spread of Nazi ideas. Some seek to exalt democracy. Others would imitate Germany and Italy, in greater or less degree. In all, there is straining and pulling, the realization of troubled years ahead.

Seventh, the helplessness of minorities. The Jewish minorities are receiving the blackest treatment seen in a thousand years. Denied their property rights in Germany and Austria, they cannot migrate. Other nations have barred their gates to them. The plight of the Jew is matched by that of other minorities in all Central Europe.

Eighth, the prolonged defense in China and Spain. The prolonged resistance to seemingly overwhelming attacks carries warning to nations which think to win by short, rapid-action wars. The nations are aware that another general war would be long and hard, testing every resource and imperilling every government. This is a restraining force of incalculable importance.

Ninth, the exclusion of Russia from Europe. After five years of cooperation with France and the League, Russia has been thrust back upon itself, unused and unwanted by the great Western nations.

European After-Thoughts

There are many of them.

Anthony Eden contends that two great mistakes were made by post-war Europe:

First, the failure of England, immediately after the War, to give France an alliance which would have yielded a sense of security against Germany. As a result of this failure, fear ruled the Franco-German frontier. This fear prevented the formation of friendly attitudes during the days when Germany was peaceful and democratic.

Second, the tying of the League of Nations to the Treaty of Versailles. Nations aggrieved by that Treaty saw no hope within the framework of the League. Their only hope lay in the wrecking of the League.

American After-Thoughts

The American people—most of them, at least—went into the world war with the sense that a necessary job must be done. They thought war would make the world safer. They did not learn until later that war does more than change the world map, that it looses forces which destroy liberty and democracy. Nor did they learn until later (and especially in September 1938)

that nations created by war cannot survive unless nurtured through depression and disaster.

Is there, then, any hope?

The disquieting fact, both in Europe and in America, is that so many have thrown up the intellectual sponge and are saying, "It is all too hard, too complicated. Let's stop worrying about it. Nothing can be done."

The most devastating comment that we heard this summer in Germany was from a man on the street. "But," said he, "now we're free—free from worrying about politics and economics and all that."

And everywhere—both in Europe and America—there are many who are saying, "Well, we tried international cooperation once and it failed. We organized the League of Nations, and it didn't work. Now there is nothing to be done."

But, now more than ever, we must begin to think about international cooperation to make an end of war. We can be heartened by the memory that only during very recent years has any thought been given to international problems. If our first efforts failed, we can take courage and begin again. The ordering of national life is still unrealized. We have not yet learned how to cope with depressions, unemployment, and the disintegration of our farming and industrial areas. It is no great wonder, then, that we have not learned how to encompass the reorganization of the tangled life of a world.

But because the task is great, we cannot shirk it. Because we have failed is no reason for giving up the attempt. And, as we begin again to think of the lines of international cooperation, we can at least find courage in the gains already registered through cooperative action between the nations. Even as we mourn the failures, we can celebrate the clear gains. These gains furnish grounds for hope that some day we may find the way to set our international house in order.

II. The Encouraging Part of It

The system of world political cooperation which the founders of the League of Nations hoped to establish, has not materialized. The League has been able to move only as far and as fast as its members have been willing to go. It does not have an existence separate and apart from them. Its success depends largely on the extent to which nations consider effective international cooperation more important than their own individual power and prestige. In the political field this cooperation has been very limited.

However, the work of the League of Nations is not confined to political cooperation, to the prevention of war. The greater part of its activity is in the sphere of non-political work where nations have found it both possible and desirable to cooperate for their mutual benefit. Through its various auxiliary organizations and the Secretariat, this cooperation is promoted on a really international scale. The United States which never joined the League, participates in much of it. Nations like Japan and Brazil which withdrew from the League still maintain their association with some of the technical organs.

The need for this kind of international cooperative effort was recognized even before the World War when there were in existence about fifty special international administrative organizations which helped to encourage commercial, economic and cultural relations, and to solve governmental problems which could not be effectively met by individual nations acting alone. The Universal Postal Union, the Universal Telegraphic Union were among the most outstanding of these bodies. This field of international action has been immensely expanded and broadened by the League of Nations which has unrivaled facilities for it. Geneva has become a great center for information and statistics on the variety of subjects included in the work of the Technical Organizations.

Public Health Work

Few Americans are aware of the extent and effectiveness of international cooperation in the field of public health. Here, through the Health Organization of the League of Nations, a vast amount of research and public health study is centered. It is supported by League members and non-members as well as by private groups such as the Rockefeller Foundation. It has set up a permanent Epidemiological Intelligence Service with centers at Geneva and Singapore which collect data on the appearance and spread of infectious diseases. This information is analyzed by the Secretariat which publishes weekly and quarterly bulletins for the use of the health administrations of all countries. In the Far East where many serious epidemics such as plague, cholera and smallpox are apt to break out this service is enormously valuable. Nowadays with the increasingly rapid means of communication, it would be easy for a ship coming from an infected port to carry a deadly disease to some distant port very quickly. To prevent this, the Eastern Bureau at Singapore is in telegraphic communication with 163 ports, which are notified week by week of every outbreak of infectious disease. Since July, 1933, ten stations broadcast this information. Thus ships carrying infectious diseases are reported to the ports to which they are bound and ships at sea are informed daily by telegraph of infected ports which they should avoid.

The Health Organization also performs valuable work in helping to combat such diseases as malaria. A committee of experts studied the problem of malaria treatment over a period of years and in a report in 1932 placed the results of its extensive work at the disposal of the world. Investigations into the methods of treating syphilis, tuberculosis, sleeping sickness, trachoma and similar diseases are all part of the constructive activity directed by the Health Organization.

Cancer merits special attention. Recently the Health Organ-

ization made public an analysis of a large number of cases showing the relative value of radium and X-rays compared to surgery, in the treatment of cancer. Such studies as these make available to the medical profession information and results of experimentation on a world-wide scale which they would never otherwise get.

Countries are increasingly tending to realize how important public health is to the well-being of their peoples. Sanitary conditions in the rural areas of many states are very primitive. After long investigation, a Conference on Rural Hygiene for European countries was held in 1931. Twenty-three countries attended. Basic principles to guide the extension of medical and health services in country districts were laid down. Similarly a Conference on Rural Hygiene in Eastern countries was called by the Health Organization. It met in Java in 1937 and was attended by eminent doctors, engineers and agricultural experts who discussed the problems of housing, nutrition, and methods of combating plague, tuberculosis, malaria, hook-worm, leprosy and mental diseases in rural areas. A conference on the same subject for Latin American countries is scheduled in Mexico City in November, 1938.

The Health Organization has likewise made considerable contribution in the field of biological standardization. A number of international conferences held under its auspices have resulted in the adoption of international standards for certain sera, biological products, the principal vitamins and sex hormones. An official laboratory acting for the Health Organization, is responsible for the distribution of standard units, in accordance with the standard set, to the various national laboratories. The Organization arranges for interchanges of health personnel between countries, and for collective study tours for public health specialists.

Although we have been aware that people in many parts of the world were undernourished and badly fed, formerly we

had no conception of the extent of this malnutrition. In 1935, in connection with the health work, the League and the International Labor Organization undertook together to make a thorough study of nutrition which not only involves public health but also agricultural and economic policy. A special Committee on Nutrition was appointed. Its far-reaching investigations showed how much people suffered from a lack of proper diet, even in countries having a relatively high standard of living. It was found that in some areas—such as China—almost no milk was drunk, in others few vegetables eaten, and in others too much meat with little cereals, vegetables or dairy products. The result of this nutrition study has been the setting up of National Nutrition Committees in over thirty countries to keep alive the interest in this subject which is so vital to good public health, and to work for the improvement of nutrition in their own countries.

The United States has cooperated quite extensively in health service. American health experts have been active on several of the special Committees, such as Nutrition, Malaria, and Biological Standardization. The Rockefeller Foundation has made generous contributions to further the League's health work. American cooperation seems particularly appropriate in this field, since we are one of the more advanced nations in public health and medical work.

Control of Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs

The problem of control of the trade in narcotic drugs is one that knows no frontiers. Through a series of conventions which most of the nations have ratified, every stage in the legitimate movement of narcotic drugs from manufacturer to consumer is now supervised internationally. Alongside of this supervised and legitimate trade, however, is a large and growing illegal trade in dangerous drugs encouraged by the traffickers who make huge profits from it, and by the drug addicts. This illegal

trade is one of the most elusive of all criminal activities. The traffickers have developed so many ingenious ways of smuggling narcotics that they are frequently able to escape detection even in the most strictly supervised countries. Americans know something about the excellent anti-narcotics work done by the United States Treasury Department because of the publicity the anti-drug drive has received in the press and in the movie news. And yet smuggling into this country still continues. It is said in Geneva that at present, very little smuggling of drugs is done through the West Coast ports of either the United States or Canada but that the drugs are now shipped all the way around the world from the Near to the Far East where they are processed, and then back through the Mediterranean to some of our Atlantic Coast ports. Smuggling into countries which have not organized their anti-drug work so thoroughly as the United States has, or which do not feel they have the money to spend on it is much easier.

The League campaign against the narcotics traffic is conducted through three competent bodies at Geneva. First, the Advisory Committee, representing both the producing or manufacturing countries and the consuming countries, helps to exercise general supervision over the conventions dealing with opium and other dangerous drugs. It also advises the League Council on drug policy. These conventions are five in number and have been very generally ratified and applied by the nations. The Advisory Committee examines the annual reports sent in by adhering nations as well as the reports of illicit transactions and seizures. Armed with this information and its own investigations, it makes recommendations. It is charged also with preparations for conferences and new conventions aimed at further curtailing of the traffic. The purpose of all the international action on drugs is to limit the use of the dangerous drugs to their proper medical, scientific and legitimate purposes in order to prevent the growth of the illegal traffic which simply adds to the list of unfortunate drug addicts. As a

pioneer fighter against the drug evil, the United States is ably represented on the Advisory Committee.

Second, the Permanent Central Opium Board, set up by the 1925 Convention, has eight highly-qualified experts, independent of their governments, who keep a constant watch on the international drug market. They check on excessive accumulations by any country of substances covered in the Convention and can ask, through the Secretary-General of the League, for explanations and for action against the offending country.

Under the 1925 Convention, if a dealer in narcotics wishes to import drugs he must go to his government for a certificate approving such import and specifying that it is needed for medical or scientific purposes. According to the convention, a government should permit export only when an import certificate has been presented by the exporter thus indicating that the person wishing to obtain the drugs has been authorized by his government to do so.

Third, the Supervisory Body, set up under the 1931 Convention, has four members appointed by the Advisory Committee, the Permanent Central Board, the Health Committee of the League, and the Office international d'Hygiene Publique in Paris. This is a very important part of the machinery of international supervision. Under this 1931 Convention, each government is required to submit, one year in advance, estimates of the quantities of narcotic drugs which it will need for its medicinal and scientific requirements. These estimates are then examined carefully by the Supervisory Body, which can determine in advance for each year the world requirements of narcotic drugs. The program is fixed and announced annually in a public statement containing the estimates for all the countries. This program covers the whole world and is, for parties to the 1931 Convention (some sixty-three ratifications or accessions) a legal obligation upon them to keep within the limitations of the estimates thus laid down. The information section of the League of Nations describes this system as,

"the only genuinely universal piece of international machinery created by the League of Nations up to the present." Both manufacture and distribution of narcotic drugs are also strictly supervised by national administrative machinery. The Permanent Central Opium Board has the job of seeing to it that the manufacture of drugs and the imports in each country do not go beyond the estimates fixed by the Supervisory Body.

Yet, despite this effective organization and control of the legitimate trade, it has so far been impossible to stop the illicit trade which is growing rather than diminishing. As the control has become stronger in the Western countries, China and Manchoukuo have become the center of illicit manufacture and of illegal trade. Here the production is very high of raw materials from which the drugs are derived. The traffic has increased appallingly with the Japanese penetration of Manchuria and North China where the situation is authoritatively described as "terrifying" and "almost beyond belief." Mr. Stuart J. Fuller, United States representative on the Advisory Committee, told the Committee that where Japanese influence advances in the Far East, the drug traffic goes with it. A number of other countries have also supplied information to the Committee showing the great increase in the production, consumption, and trade in narcotics in China during 1937, especially in Chinese provinces under Japanese control or influence. Obviously, Chinese traffickers are also profiting from this trade.

Several of the Western nations have confidential agents in the various drug producing countries in the Near and Far East who give them very specific information about large movements of illicit drugs. But the nations in which this trade flourishes can and do deny any knowledge of it. This denial may be because governmental officials who receive bribes in connection with the illegal traffic are not likely to report details of the traffic to their superiors. In this connection, it is significant that the United States has threatened the loss of the important American raw opium market to nations not con-

forming strictly to treaty requirements. The suggestion has even been made that the United States might itself produce, under careful supervision, the amount of opium necessary to supply it with drugs for its proper medical and scientific purposes. Such a step would make unnecessary any imports of raw opium into this country and would probably bring the offending nations to terms.

The fact that a large illegal trade in narcotics is growing shows clearly that international control must go beyond the manufacture and movement of legitimate drugs. The next step would be an attempt to limit the cultivation of the opium poppy and of raw opium, in an effort to control the source of the trade—the raw materials from which the drugs are produced. So long as there is no control of poppy cultivation, illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs is bound to exist. For some years the League of Nations has been studying the possibility of securing a Convention on the limitation of the raw materials.

The cooperation given by most of the nations to the international efforts to keep the drug trade under strict control has been very encouraging. However, all of this is jeopardized by the present condition of the illegal trade in Manchoukuo and North China. There can be no sure control until this situation is cleaned up.

Economic and Financial Work

During the twenties the League of Nations was occasionally able to make a small but real contribution to the improvement of economic and financial conditions in post-war Europe. In recent years, however, it has been very much impeded in its work due to the wave of depression and economic nationalism which swept the world following the collapse of 1929. High tariff barriers, exchange controls, quota restrictions and a long series of measures hampering the free movement of trade, are

obstacles in the way of international understanding and world recovery today.

The League Financial Committee has given nations, at their request, valuable assistance in currency and banking reform. Effective and constructive work was done to put on a sound basis the public finances of countries like Austria, Hungary, Greece and Bulgaria, which had been hit very hard by the World War. Economic conferences held under League auspices in the twenties recommended liberal trade policies and principles of efficient financial administration, some of which the nations seemed willing to put into practice in their own policies. But since 1929 there has been a world-wide reaction against liberal commercial and financial policies. This reaction has been greatly accelerated by the autarchic programs of the dictator nations which aim to be self-sufficient within their own borders. The Hull trade Treaty program and the Tripartite Monetary Agreement between England France, and the United States are among the few bright spots on the international economic horizon today.

The League Economic Committee has made extensive studies of the present world economic situation. It has recommended the lowering of tariffs, abolition of quotas, progressive abolition of exchange controls and clearing agreements, and stabilization of currencies. But although there is rather general agreement about the procedure necessary to make the wheels of international trade go round, it is almost impossible to get international action on any such procedure.

More and more the League Economic and Financial Organization has been devoting itself to research. One of these studies is on business cycles. Its purpose is to find out whether there is, through integrated and concerted action, any way of avoiding the disastrous, periodic world depressions with which all of us have now become familiar.

A very useful inquiry was made into the problem of access

for all nations to raw materials. A report was submitted to the Council of the League in September, 1937. In view of the loud and constant cries of the dictator nations that they were cut off from certain necessary raw materials and therefore had to go in for state autarchy, this was a particularly opportune study. The Committee concluded that the difficulty over raw materials was simply one aspect of the more fundamental problem of restoring the conditions necessary for the maintenance of international economic and financial balance. If nations were willing to take steps to ensure the free movement of goods and of capital, to remove the most damaging trade barriers, they would then find it comparatively easy to buy the raw materials they needed.

The Organization has to its credit a number of conventions on relatively small but troublesome matters. These include conventions on the simplification of customs formalities, on the prevention and punishment of falsifying or counterfeiting paper money and metallic currency, and are in force among over thirty nations.

Studies on the gold problem, the system of clearing agreements, the abolition of export and import prohibitions and restrictions, the unification of commercial law, the regulation of whale fishing, on the production and exchange of agricultural products, the international trade in meat, and many other important current problems, have been undertaken by the Economic and Financial Organization and have been the subject of reports or conventions.

A series of very useful publications on world economics is prepared by the Economic Intelligence Service of the Organization. The *World Economic Survey* which it puts out is the best thing of its kind available.

The United States has cooperated, both officially and unofficially, in much of the League's economic and financial work. Leading American economists and financial experts have taken

part in the deliberations of its committees. The reciprocal trade treaty program of the present Administration at Washington is, of course, quite in line with some of the liberal trade policies recommended by the League committees, but unfortunately rarely put into practice by the League members.

Social and Humanitarian Work

Valuable work has been done through the League Advisory Committee on Social Questions to carry on the campaign to suppress the international traffic in women and children and to further child welfare. Efforts to suppress the traffic in women and children for immoral purposes, date back to the years before the War. Since 1920 the League, through its Social and Humanitarian Organization, has concerned itself with finding out in thorough fashion the nature and extent of the traffic in different parts of the world. Conventions providing penalties for the international traffic in women and children, for the suppression of obscene publications, have been drawn up under League auspices, and ratified by a large number of nations. The problems facing the League, in its attempt to do an effective job, include methods of closer cooperation between police and other authorities responsible for applying measures to prevent the traffic in the East, the employment of women police, the exchange of police information on the subject and the abolition of brothels. The United States has cooperated actively in this campaign.

Organized work on behalf of child welfare is of comparatively recent origin. A whole new series of problems connected with child welfare have grown out of the world-wide economic depression. In attempting to solve them we find difficult questions of education, economics, and morality all involved. The League Advisory Committee has undertaken a number of investigations, among them the study of the laws in all countries relating to the age of marriage and consent, laws governing the admission of children to the movies, the legal status of the illegitimate child, the problem of neglected and delinquent

children, effects of the economic depression on children and young people, and effects of unemployment on them. Appropriate authorities in the different nations receive information as to the methods used by other countries in dealing with these child welfare problems.

Aid to Refugees

The League of Nations has behind it a considerable achievement in post-war refugee relief work. This work was carried on under the very able direction of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen and dealt with Russian, Assyrian, Armenian, Turkish and, later, Saarlander refugees. The famous Nansen passport provided such people with a temporary legal status until they were able to acquire regular nationality. Arrangements were made for transporting and settling refugees in countries where there were opportunities for them to get work. The Nansen International Office For Refugees, an autonomous organization under League auspices, has been carrying on the humanitarian side of Dr. Nansen's work. This office is expected to complete its task by the end of 1938.

Political persecution and persecution of the Jews in Germany since 1933 has re-opened in a very acute way the whole question of refugee relief. In 1933 the League was asked to lend its assistance to the large number of refugees from Germany whose problem has been made very difficult because of the serious unemployment situation in almost every nation.

The number of Jewish and other refugees has again greatly increased since the German seizure of Austria in March, 1938. President Roosevelt expressed the concern of the United States over the misery and destitute condition of these refugees by calling for an Inter-governmental Conference to discuss large-scale measures to meet this serious situation. This Conference met at Evian, France, in July, 1938 and was presided over by an American, Mr. Myron Taylor. Its purpose was to set up a permanent committee to work out plans for a systematic and

orderly emigration of Jewish and other refugees from Germany and Austria, in place of the chaos which has characterized their flight. Thirty-one nations were represented at the Conference. Several of them indicated their willingness to take refugees who could do agricultural work or others for whom suitable work was available. The United States was interested in broadening the scope of the proposed work to include refugees other than German and Austrian, but this broadened scope was widely opposed as impractical.

It was recognized also that the countries bordering Germany and Austria, particularly France, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, could not be expected to do more than they have already done in receiving the thousands of refugees who have sought haven in their countries. The Conference voted to set up a permanent Inter-governmental Committee with headquarters in London. A measure of German cooperation in permitting refugees to carry with them a substantial part of their property, is essential to the success of the Committee's undertaking because refugees must have capital on which to make a new start in another country.

This new Inter-governmental Committee, established in London in August, 1938, under an American Director, Mr. George Rublee, is to collaborate with existing League organs dealing with refugee problems. Regrets were expressed in Geneva that the Committee was not a League project. On the other hand, the importance of having the United States taking a leading part was recognized. Also it is hoped that Germany which is no longer a member of the League of Nations will be more willing to cooperate with the permanent Committee since it is an independent, non-League organ.

Communications and Transit

In order to take full advantage of the modern means of communication and transportation which have brought all parts of the world closer together, it is important that there be as

few restrictions as possible in their easy use. To this end the Communications and Transit Organization of the League works to ensure freedom of communications and transit by land and sea, on inland waterways and in the air.

Since 1920 the Organization has had considerable success in helping to reduce passport and inspection formalities. At the Barcelona Conference in 1921, held by the Organization, an international convention was concluded providing for complete freedom of transit and equality of treatment for persons or goods as regards transportation by rail or navigable waterways. This agreement is in force among some thirty-three nations subject, of course, to certain restrictions in connection with public safety, police, and local conditions. A Convention on the International Regime of Railways, 1923, was the first attempt made to define the permanent obligations of states regarding railroad transport.

The Organization has rendered a genuine service to foreign motorists. Increasing numbers of people including many Americans are visiting foreign countries in their own cars. It is very important to have a uniform and easily understandable system of road signalling. In 1933 such a code of signals was drawn up by the Organization and embodied in a Convention which has been accepted by a number of states. Several other states which have not yet ratified it, are nevertheless using the standard signals contained in the Convention. Another service to foreign motorists is the convention regarding the taxation of foreign automobiles. Some fifteen nations agreed to grant automobile drivers a ninety-day exemption from taxes in cars which are registered in the territory of one of the contracting parties but have temporarily entered the territory of another party. Attempts are being made further to simplify the frontier formalities which greet each motorist as he enters a foreign land.

Several conferences held under the auspices of the Transit Section have been concerned with maritime questions. Interna-

tional conventions and agreements, ratified by a large number of states, include a Convention establishing the principle of equality of treatment for vessels of all nations in maritime ports, agreements concerning maritime signals and lightships not on their stations. Recommendations on lighthouse characteristics and radio beacons have been made.

At the request of Great Britain, the Organization has been studying the problems of sea pollution by petroleum oils. These oils, discharged by ships, destroy fish, sea birds and marine plants on which fish live, pollute the water at bathing beaches, and are a fire hazard in port. Most of the important maritime nations are ready to consider some positive measures to meet this sea pollution menace.

Certain governments have asked for assistance in connection with their public works programs. League experts have helped Poland on inland navigation problems, China on building roads and regulating rivers, flood control and irrigation projects, Siam on port improvements.

Public works in different countries are being studied from the point of view of their international importance, their effectiveness in relieving unemployment and their profit-yielding capacity. Information about many national public works programs with details as to how they were carried out and financed, and what economic and social results have been obtained or were expected, has been collected by this Organization and is available for governments desiring to study it. Like the other technical organs of the League in their fields, this office is a valuable clearing house for information on communications and transit the world over.

Intellectual Cooperation

Nowadays it is easy to see that there can be no peace as long as nations can be propagandized into hating each other. Certain nations in Europe are using the radio to disturb the racial, social

and national sentiments of peoples in other states. The League Committee on Intellectual Cooperation has arranged peace broadcasts and is responsible for a convention by which the adhering nations agree not to broadcast material calculated to disturb each others' internal peace.

The Intellectual Cooperation Organization promotes international cultural relations through the arts, education, the radio, and the films. It is now working on the draft of a convention for the protection of works of art in time of civil or international war. The Committee is also much interested in trying to prevent the teaching in schools of that kind of history which influences the young people of a nation to hate the neighboring nations. This prevention has become a very difficult task since so many of the dictator and semi-dictator nations have established such rigid control over education, the radio, the press, and the movies.

The United States cooperates actively in the work of the Intellectual Cooperation organ primarily through non-governmental agencies, but the government at Washington maintains a friendly and helpful attitude towards this work.

Technical Assistance to China

From 1931 to 1937 the League of Nations, acting through its Technical Organizations, carried on some excellent work for the economic reconstruction of China, at the request of the Chinese government.

League experts in certain fields went to China to investigate and study on the spot various technical problems confronting the Chinese government. The Health Organization helped to develop the Central Field Health Station and to introduce modern sanitation in some of the interior provinces. Communications and Transit worked on road construction and water conservancy in cooperation with the Chinese National Economic Council. The Economic Organization sent specialists to help on

agricultural and agrarian problems. Intellectual Cooperation was represented by delegates who went to China in 1931 to report on education there.

These League organizations have kept in mind the importance of fitting Chinese citizens to take part in the vast reconstruction work of their country. The Chinese government has been particularly interested in the training of an adequate body of Chinese experts to carry on the work begun by the League experts. In this the League has cooperated fully.

With the outbreak of war in July, 1937, China had to concentrate its full attention and resources on defending itself against Japan. A special appeal was made to the League for help in the anti-epidemic campaign which was intensified as the war continued and disease spread rapidly. The League sent three mobile medical units to fight epidemics which began work early in 1938 with the emphasis chiefly on preventing the spread of cholera and plague. Three more units were set up by the Chinese government. Centers for training personnel have been established and work in sanitation is going ahead. The widespread fighting and the air raids by the Japanese have necessitated population movements on a large scale. This movement has brought greater exposure to infection. The Chinese government needs all the medical assistance it can get. The League's service in China is absolutely essential.

Thus while the League nations have not been willing to aid China in a political way by invoking sanctions against Japan, the Technical Organizations of the League have been doing a real service for China through their non-political assistance.

The International Labor Organization

The International Labor Organization is based on the idea that one of the fundamental conditions necessary to universal peace today, is social justice. It is devoted to securing and maintaining fair and humane conditions for laboring men and women in all parts of the world, a task which must be done on an international scale because so long as some nations have

cheap and exploited labor, such nations constitute a serious competitive menace to others which are attempting to improve labor conditions. The I.L.O. is more universal than the League. It has about sixty members, including the United States which did not go into the League, and Brazil and Japan which withdrew from the League but remained in the I.L.O.

Since the United States became a member of the I.L.O. in 1934, our country has been taking a leading part in the work of the Organization. The last International Labor Conference, in June 1938, was attended by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins who made one of the significant speeches in the plenary sessions. Furthermore, John G. Winant, former governor of New Hampshire and head of the Social Security Board, was elected the new Director of the I.L.O. to take office in January, 1939.

American interest and participation in the International Labor Organization has made itself felt at a time when the international political outlook has been particularly gloomy. The I.L.O. has faced increasing obstacles since so many nations have embarked on huge re-armament programs which make them, temporarily at least, unreceptive to plans for reducing hours of work and improving conditions of labor. American concern over these vital problems has been instrumental in keeping them before the organization.

The I.L.O. has three main organs. The first of these is the International Labor Conference which meets annually and is composed of representatives from all nations belonging to the Organization. Representation is based not only on geographical areas but also on the employers' and workers' groups in each of the member States. Thus at the annual Conference, each country has four delegates—two representing the government, one the employers and one the workers.

The second organ is the Governing Body which has thirty-two members based on the same principle of representation. Sixteen speak for the governments, eight for the employers and eight for the workers. The eight countries of chief industrial

importance are permanently represented on the Governing Body. The other eight government members of the Body are appointed by the representatives of the remaining government delegations at the Conference.

The third organ is the International Labor Office, housed at Geneva in a dignified and beautiful building which was the gift of many nations. This is the permanent office of the Director, appointed by the Governing Body, and of his staff. They have their own private post office which takes care of newspapers, periodicals, newly published books on labor problems, and letters from all over the world; their own library of more than 400,000 volumes, a registry department which answers letters on all sorts of concerns of workers, from the best kind of goggles for welders to standards of factory inspection; a variety of offices for filing, research, and the compiling of reports.

The work of the I.L.O. is done in two stages. There is the long and thorough investigation of subjects to be submitted to the annual Conference for action by the representative nations. Then there is the work of the annual Conference which discusses the particular problems on its agenda with a view to adopting draft conventions and recommendations for submission to the members of the Organization. Adoption requires a majority of two-thirds of all the delegates present at the Conference. Investigations on such problems as the protection of women and children in industry, unemployment, protection against sickness and old age, workmen's compensation, vacation with pay, and seagoing labor problems, have resulted in conventions or recommendations. The thoroughness with which the I.L.O. has attacked the problem of seagoing labor is typical of its method of operation. Assembling data on wrecked ships and seamen left in strange ports without wages or means of return to their own countries, the Office set to work to prepare the Shipwreck Convention (an international treaty which becomes law for the signatory powers) for the Second Labor

Conference of 1920. Naturally there was hot debate between some of the shipowners and the representatives of the seamen. But regulations finally ensued which protected boys under fourteen, abolished commercial job-finding agencies, protected seamen in case of shipwreck. Special Maritime Conferences have followed which have further improved the working conditions of seamen—requiring doctor's certificates for boys going to sea, forbidding employment of boys under 18 as trimmers and stokers, regulating the length of the working day and the minimum size of a crew, the care of seamen in case of illness, qualifications of officers, holidays with pay.

It is important to remember that proposals for improving labor conditions, whether adopted by the Conference as conventions or as recommendations, form only the basis for potential legislation in the different countries. In order to come into force a draft convention has to be ratified by a certain number of states. The I.L.O. can only send its proposals to the member nations and hope for favorable action. Once a State ratifies a convention, however, it is bound by the convention and must take appropriate legislative steps to put its provisions into effect.

In spite of this slow and elaborate machinery, over sixty I.L.O. conventions have been adopted by the Conference since 1919 and have already come into force. The whole process of study, drafting of conventions, discussion, adoption and finally ratification, gives some indication of the enormous amount of time and effort which must be spent in order to secure international action in the field of labor and social legislation. Like the League of Nations, the I.L.O. can move just as fast as the members are willing to have it go.

In recent years the chief interest of the Organization has been the problem of reduction of hours. Between 1919 and 1930 efforts were made to frame conventions limiting hours of work to forty-eight a week. By 1931 this principle had been established in two international conventions. Since then efforts

have concentrated on the ideal of a forty-hour week. At the 1938 Conference the merits of the reduced working week were discussed by delegates from a number of countries, particularly France, New Zealand, and the United States. Other nations, among them countries engaged in speeding-up arms production, were unwilling to give unqualified approval to the principle of further reduction of hours. However, the Conference voted to keep this complex problem before the Organization by placing it on the agenda for next year.

The United States has been sending large and important delegations to the annual Conferences at Geneva. American delegates have taken an active part both in the plenary sessions and in the preparatory work of the committees. An increasing number of Americans are serving on special committees engaged on I.L.O. studies. Many have taken positions on the staff of the International Labor Office in Geneva. Finally the Department of Labor maintains a liaison office in Geneva and through United States Labor Commissioner, Mr. Carter Goodrich, keeps in close touch with I.L.O. developments. In two recent special conferences called by the I.L.O., the United States played a conspicuous part. They were: the International Maritime Conference at Geneva in 1936 and the Technical Tripartite Textile Conference at Washington, 1937. Both of these dealt with industries in which we are vitally concerned.

In a field which does not involve political commitments and which is in accord with American interests, this government has shown itself willing to cooperate fully.

III. The Job To Be Done

The solid achievements which have been realized through cooperation in non-political fields is encouraging. The world situation today, however, demands much more than nations have so far been willing to do.

The hope for getting the nations to work together politically lies in the alternative which they face. The alternative is a war

in which everybody will lose so much more in life, so many more billions in money than they could possibly lose by mutual yielding of certain immediate, short-term advantages. The contention here is that it is better to try to do these things together before a war than after one. After a war exactly the same things will have to be done that should be done now, but the difficulties in doing them will be enormously increased. National antagonisms will be running even higher. Everyone will be poorer. Many able men will be in their graves. Revolutions will be sweeping the world. In spite of great difficulties at present, now is a better time than later.

The first task which the nations should face together is to increase the national income of each nation so that it does not feel the dangers and inhibitions of poverty. The low national income of Hungary makes that nation a very possible prey for fascism. When our own national income is low it is difficult for us to act freely with other nations to reduce trade barriers, to solve the refugee problem, to maintain effective and functioning democracy. One way of increasing usable income is by reducing the armaments burden which takes so large a share of the income of the people and even, in Italy and Hungary and before long probably also in other nations, of their capital wealth.

Another way for nations to work together to their mutual advantage is by the stimulation of international trade which certainly means tariff-lowering of the kind Secretary Hull is engaged in securing. To be really effective this tariff-lowering will have to move faster, be on a larger scale, and carry with it some strong assurance that it will last for a long period of years. In these threatening days every nation which chooses through a reciprocal trade agreement with us to buy something in the United States instead of manufacturing it more expensively at home, runs the risk that a later Congress will suddenly close that market and leave the purchasing nation helpless.

A further method of stimulating international trade is by

loans. During the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover days we followed the loan policy quite recklessly in regard to South America and also Europe. Thousands of our investors now hold depreciated paper engravings. But loans can be made with definite conditions attached. There is a case for loans which pick a nation out of a depression and at the same time fit it into the machinery of a well-functioning international trade. Every impoverished European nation is today a threat to the prosperity of other nations, as well as an object of revolutionary propaganda on the part of its powerful neighbors. A careful loan with the proper conditions attached may be insurance for peace.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of our forty-eight states is the fact that goods can cross their borders, from state to state, without paying tariffs. That free tariff policy has been one of the fundamental reasons for the development of our national wealth and security. Another distinguishing characteristic, less often mentioned, is the fact that the Federal government has assumed a degree of responsibility for the welfare of all the states. For example, when the export trade of Tennessee showed an adverse balance, as they call it in international language, the Federal government stepped in. Tennessee had been exporting coal, lumber, other raw materials—and also its young men—to Michigan and Illinois and buying back automobiles. But when Tennessee and the surrounding states could no longer keep going on that trade, the Federal government put in the Tennessee Valley Authority in the expectation that it would even up the adverse trade balance. Roads, canals, irrigation, power and navigation dams, farm and direct relief as well as public works have not gone to states in proportion to their wealth, but somewhat in proportion to their need. This responsibility for need is one of the principles which will have to be carried over into the rest of the world if the nations are to work together somewhat as effectively as the forty-eight United States now work.

Another distinguishing feature of our system, toward which

the world will have to work sooner or later, is the yielding of some degree of its sovereignty by every state to the federal union. No one state can veto the forty-seven others. This pooling of sovereignty is accompanied, of course, by the participation of every state in the federal union, and in the Senate on completely equal terms. As long as every nation in the world is free to arm itself as heavily as it cares to, or build walls around its trade as high as it cares to have them, or treat its religious or racial minorities as scurrily as it pleases, or suppress public opinion completely, none of the essential conditions which make for peace within the United States, for example, are present.

Today it is not only a noble wish or humanitarian ideal which forces this demand for nations to work together. It is also a feeling of self-preservation on behalf of the democracies. They must have an increase of national income, an improvement in business and employment, to withstand the pressure of competitive systems of thought and government. The chance to work for a living may appear a larger blessing than freedom of franchise or civil liberties. No one who saw it can forget the pull on the people of Austria which was exerted by the simple, elemental fact that there were jobs in Germany while men were idle in Austria. The same pull was exercised on the unemployed in the Sudeten territory of Czechoslovakia.

When people arrive at the place where they ask themselves, "What good is freedom when we starve?" the outlook is dark. When they conclude, "If we give up our freedom, we can work," they have reached the danger point for democracy. The job of working together with other nations should absorb a considerable part of American thought. Now. While there is still time.

A Word of Welcome

TO

DWIGHT J. BRADLEY



It is a privilege to welcome my successor in the directorship of the Council for Social Action, when that successor is Dwight Bradley. I have known him and loved him long and well. He is a man of sensitiveness and courage. He has a strength which is rooted in knowledge of men and of God. He has been, in the best sense of a great word, a priest. He knows the suffering human race out of long years of dealing with his fellows. He has brought healing and strength to many. And he has in him the stuff of the prophets. I have never known Dwight Bradley to flinch or to trim. We will all find courage in his leadership of this great new agency of the Churches, confident that he will show us new visions of the meaning of the Christian evangel in times of strain and confusion.

HUBERT C. HERRING



Thirty million people driven from their homes. Other millions trying to live in no-man's land or in cities and villages wasted by war and isolated by flood.

A dollar given to the Church Committee for China Relief insures food for a month to at least one war victim. Shelter, clothing and medical care cost money also.

Funds are distributed all over China by the American Advisory Committee in Shanghai, composed of American missionaries and business men with many years of experience in using relief funds where most needed. Relief is given to the most needy regardless of creed.

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